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ABSTRACT

The first problem addressed here is our definition of the concept development-planning. The second problem is our definition of the disadvantaged today and in the future, that is, for whom is the planning effort directed. The third problem is the presentation of hypotheses and illustrations from various fields of activity, in order to demonstrate to ourselves and to others that our view and approach to the matter do indeed differ from existing ones. Development-planning is a rational, planned, comprehensive, and integrated effort to initiate and guide a process of systematic improvement of the educational system or parts of it. A study of the development of Israel's educational system reveals four major stages in the society's awareness of the problems of the disadvantaged in the past, and a fifth stage, which should shape the development of the educational system in the future on the basis of planning for the coming decade. The question, Who are the disadvantaged? should be raised in the context of seeing the condition of certain groups from the perspective both of expectations of the modernization stages and patterns and of the challenge and assistance offered by a system aimed at helping individuals and groups confront the expectation of survival and advancement. (Author/JM)

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FIRST DEFINITIONS TOWARD DEVELOPMENT-PLANNING

ADVANCEMENT OF DISADVANTAGED PUPILS IN THE DECADE 1975- 1985

Moshe Smilansky

(Excerpts from extensive materials prepared by Dr. Smilansky for the Mediax Conference -- D.A.W.)

Our assignment is defined as development-planning for the advancement of certain groups in a social system within a specified period ....

The first problem is our definition of the concept development-planning according to our values, in order to create a common frame of reference to the question what we are striving for. That is to say -- our assumptions concerning the importance of long-term planning, its significance and the possibilities of its realization.

The second problem is our definition of the disadvantaged today and in the future. That is to say, for whom is the planning effort directed, or in other words -- what are the aims and objectives that development-planning for the disadvantaged strives for.

And the third problem is the presentation of hypotheses and illustrations from various fields of activity, in order to demonstrate to ourselves and to others that our view and approach to the matter do indeed differ from existing ones, and can ensure the prospect of meaningful change.

Our Definition of the Concept Development-Planning

The concept development-planning is an extremely general one and is used by different people in different situations and for various purposes. In the educational system there are some who use this concept as a common factor of the separate roles of research, planning, evaluation and so forth. In my view development planning is a rational, planned, comprehensive and integrated effort to initiate and guide a process of systematic improvement of the educational system or parts of it.

This approach is based on the assumption that all the institutions of society must undergo a process of change in view of the far-reaching effects of the accelerated modernization process it is

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UD 014 114

undergoing. Schools, which are supposed to be meaningful to individuals, to social groups and to the State must stand up to the test of controlled and comprehensive research, evaluation and change. Just as the influence of the tempo and patterns of the modernization process on the general social system is conditional on the existence of a suitable leadership with an understanding of the need to set up efficient executive agencies and consolidate procedures for their use, similarly in the specific system known as the educational system. This leadership is composed of various factors: the political responsibility for the process of change lies with the political leaders, and the administrative responsibility with the administrators, but these two factors require the cooperation of professionals who will share with them the responsibility for deciding what is desirable, for planning the operation and evaluating it. The contribution of a dynamic process of development planning in this context should be expressed in the furnishing of relevant know-how; in suggesting possible interpretations, in creating awareness concerning the significance of the choice of possible alternatives, from the standpoint both of anticipated events and of the cost involved; in forming possible strategic approaches; in designing experimental systems to examine the implications of the approach; in evaluating the experiments both as a general system and as component elements; in guidance with regard to the possible implications of political decisions, of operations and so forth.

In view of the above definition it may be said that development-planning is the systematic use of trained intelligence for basic and methodical aid to those responsible for the forming of policy and its implementation.

Those who come to work in a development-planning team should be regarded as people who are learning to undergo a certain socialization process: they bring with them their fundamental characteristics - their abilities, their skills and their motivation to share actively in the responsibility for promotion of change - and at the same time they undergo a socialization process, shared by all the team members, and enabling each individual to fulfil the complex role of development-planning.

Secondly: planning is the basic tool of those who wish to be responsible for their situation, and are not prepared to be slaves to blind fate tapping them on the shoulder. It is a process of asking fundamental questions concerning the alternatives open to us at each stage of the modernization process. Planning is an attempt at early and preventive action, which explores potential alternatives, defines priorities and reminds everyone of the cost of the choice. The alternative to planning is vagueness, inertia, or constant improvisation by plastering and patching over the cracks, accompanied by a feeling of lack of choice and blind following of a trail whose direction is not clear.

In other words, planning is a guarantee of the authenticity of our values. It is an expression of our willingness to be aware of our present and potential situation, to explore the implications of the options open to us and to pay the price.

It may be said that all good planning models share the following characteristics:

We speak of a process and analyse it.

We are oriented toward the future, while recognizing that we are anchored in the past and in our present activity.

All planning must be directed toward specific goals, the choice of which is determined by diagnosis and value-decisions in the framework of the effects of stages and patterns of modernization.

All planning aims to encourage decision and choice-making

therefore it aims at an orientation toward operative goals; on the other hand, it is an activity free of the pressure of activism.

All planning is a process of building a totality, the program; but simultaneously it is also the viewing of alternative programs as part of a system with configurations of many multi-dimensional forces, whose location and inter-relations should be explored in the process of differentiation.

All planning recognizes the existence of a matrix of inter-related power ratios at any given time, and is aware of the fact that any change affecting some of them distorts the relations of the others, or even the entire matrix. Therefore it is a question of forming alternative systems, which constitute a dynamic upward spiral to new variegated matrices.

Every planning process is defined in the frame of time and space; therefore it must take into account both short-term and long-range planning, both individual (micro) and comprehensive (macro) planning. The planning process must define minimal variables ("threshold") and optional prospects of breakthrough ("ceiling"); it must define what is the ideal and what is the real.

All planning is aware of its responsibility in the process of active intervention, including constant evaluation and definition of mechanisms for generating changes in direction, tempo and influence.

All planning seeks to find a balance between the search for possibilities of a breakthrough and progress or - contrarily - the guaranteed ability to resist, or even retreat, and optimal effectiveness for minimal investment.

All planning is human endeavor dependent upon human strengths and weaknesses. Therefore those who fulfil roles in development-planning will undergo a socialization process in order to improve their ability for interaction with others.

The Need for Long-Term Development-Planning for the Advancement of the Disadvantages

Our recognition of the necessity to give priority to long-term development-planning in this field rests on three basic assumptions.

Firstly, the problem is one of broad dimensions, deep-rooted and affected by a complex configuration of factors. On the one hand, the educational system, in spite of its many attempts, is not geared for a meaningful struggle with the problem; on the other hand, the behavioral sciences, at their present stage of development, are not ripe to exert the necessary influence. Properly organized cooperation should ensure a comprehensive, systematic and creative effort in order to make a meaningful contribution to the general problem, and a breakthrough at significant points.

Secondly, the frame of reference in this struggle are the developments defined as the Stages and Patterns of the modernization process. In order to form models of intervention which will be sufficiently strong to ensure a meaningful change, we require: a broad view, controlled alternatives of struggle in a suitable field-space, the forming of public awareness, consolidation of development methods, training of man-power and creation of tools to serve it - in line with the goals envisaged and the preparedness of those involved in the process.

The hundreds of partial endeavors, dichotomous and uncoordinated, cannot substitute for systematic and dynamic development-planning. This statement does not depreciate the scientific and therapeutic contribution of many of the projects developed in

previous years - in Israel, the U.S. and elsewhere - by scientists and workers in the field. Some of us here have devoted perhaps twenty years of our lives to these projects.

Perhaps here we should make it clear that according to our assumptions there is no conflict between the need for comprehensive planning and a policy of administrative decentralization, and the encouragement of initiatives by workers in the field (headmasters, teachers, parents, pupils, etc.). On the contrary, when an educational system has reached the stage of development wherein it is prepared to be open and dynamic - to encourage the change in values, the approaches, preparedness and creativity of a heterogeneous population - it must resort to administrative decentralization and development-planning.

The task of administrative decentralization is to provide logistic support in supplies, counselling and evaluation of every local initiative, in order to assure the initiators of the prospects of success, so that their efforts will be translated from goodwill into appropriate action. It is the responsibility of the comprehensive, systematic and dynamic planning to ensure a general view of the developments, to maintain the necessary balance, to permit choice of priorities and to guarantee the prospect of optimal results for each investment - local, regional or national.

And thirdly, we must bear in mind the fact that, on the one hand, expenditure on education has risen both absolutely and relatively over the last decade, and on the other hand, there is a growing feeling of frustration among the public, due to the limited nature of the change that has been achieved, and a feeling of weariness in face of the inertia of the demand for increased investment in this field. The galloping inflation in every part of the world, the Arab oil blackmail, the dizzying rise in defense expenditure resulting from the systematic shift to more sophisticated and expensive armament systems, and additional factors which we will not speak of here, will inthe future lead to a relative reduction in the public resources available for allocation to schools in general, and to the advancement of the groups we are concerned with in particular. But the gravity of the problem of the disadvantaged in the present and the deterioration foreseen for the future, in view of the growing gap between heightened

expectations and inadequate achievements (this was defined in England as the problem of "Half Our Future" while in Israel and the U.S. it is even more severe, as it is a question of the quality of our lives and the lives of our children) demands that even the egotists among us understand that modernization processes in secularization, democratization, urbanization, mass communications media and such like - will not in the long run allow the needs of the disadvantaged to be ignored.

Here we should perhaps add, in all sincerity and simplicity, that most of the so-called innovations that have so far been proposed in public schools, were not real changes. These were generally activities that attempted to refurbish certain elements in the complex system known as the school, or to help the disadvantaged to adjust to being in an institution unsuited to their needs. We may add that even those changes that were suggested were not in the main adopted after the experimental stage, and therefore did not have even the limited significance they might have had. The factors that went to form this depressing picture were cultural, administrative and human inertia - factors which we need to analyse so as to bring about an effective change.

If our discussion focuses on development-planning in the educational system, it is not because we are naive enough to think that it is possible to isolate this question from the general issue of the mobilization of society as a whole, with all its institutions, to tackle the problem. Our discussion was preceded in Israel by the Prime Minister's Commission on the problems of "youth in distress", which discussed the general questions of ensuring a certain level of income, accomodation, employment and so forth - seeing the educational system as one of the areas of government and public responsibility. The government also approved the Commission's main recommendation concerning the need to set up a permanent authority for coordinated planning to contend with the general problem of poverty and distress. In our discussion here we are dealing with one component - the educational system - in order to gain a deeper understanding of it and to translate certain general assumptions into a concrete planning process for its long-term development.

But also in our discussion here, which is confined to a specific social system - the educational system - we will explore several general social questions, such as: the cultivation of personal identity, preparation for family life and parenthood, understanding of the urbanization process and the problems of the city, inter-ethnic and inter-national marriage, family planning, child-rearing patterns, choice of occupation and employment, patterns of social integration, economic and social mobility. Because these, in our opinion, are the foci of interest for the future, and in each one of them there arises the problem of orientation of consciousness and emotional expression in the frame of activity of the educational system.

To sum up, long-term development-planning, as we define it, enables us to see, understand and plan the system while relating to its complexity, dimensions and variables and to alternative approaches to the interaction of fostering.

This generalization refers to several matters: Firstly, every educational system is constructed on a certain institutional gradation, along whose course the pupils' socialization proceeds toward preparedness to fulfil social roles, from the young child to the graduate who is prepared to take up roles in the family, at work, in the community and in society at large. The socialization process influences the development of abilities, knowledge and motivation, and also leads to choice and selection. These are mainly the result of interaction between the individual's development and his or his family's conscious or unconscious personal decision on the one hand, and the institutional mechanisms of choice and selection on the other. These in their turn are partly of conscious design and partly the result of inertia and blindness with regard to the significance of a certain solution. Potentially, this socialization process can be influenced by an almost unlimited number of alternatives for intervention. For example, we should consider the relative advantages of preventive, promoting, and rehabilitative action: in early childhood as opposed to primary school age and adolescence, and so forth. In each case we have a limitless number of alternative variables - instruments which can be used. For instance: what is known as fostering of reading ability in the kindergarten - in experiments that we conducted we saw that this can be done through reading, scientific concepts, mathema-

-tical thinking, socio-drama, painting, modelling, movement and so forth. The question is, of course, which combination of instruments will give the highest intervention potential in each kindergarten. For each instrument there are different methods, introduced by various research workers and experimenters, and for almost every variable it is possible to use frameworks of different size and composition - from individual activity, through activity in small groups (ranging from 10 to 20 participants), to activity in the framework of units with many participants, or even through the mass communications media.

Secondly, we need comprehensive development-planning (macro-planning) and detailed planning (individual: micro-planning). In each of these there are also alternatives: For instance: in comprehensive planning there is the dimension of space (what is the unit in my scope - do I wish to deal with the question of cultural patterns, social climate and the like, or with changing the character of the extensive and inclusive institution known as the school?); and the dimension of time - must I begin with immediate action (because of pressures - political, economic, military security, organizational personnel etc.) or can I create a process of gradual development? In addition there is the question, do I wish to, or am I obliged to, pla for the short, medium or long-range (for the forementioned reasons)?

And thirdly - we repeat that uncertainty about the future - in the world in general and in Israel in particular - is not a reason for avoiding comprehensive long-term planning. On the contrary, precisely because we are not sure of the nature and significance of future developments, we must work constantly and dynamically to prepare the maximal number of alternative programs, to classify them in order of priority - so as to give ourselves confidence in the existence of alternative possibilities and autonomy of choice, according to our needs at a given time and place.

Who Are the Disadvantaged for Planning Purposes?

a. Definition of the term

The term "teunei tipuach" (those in need of fostering), is synonymous with names that have been given to groups in similar states in other countries, e.g., culturally disadvantaged, culturally different, culturally deprived, socially disadvantaged, poverty area children, etc. The common denominator of these terms is that they refer to social groups (ethnic, class, regional, etc.) whose status in the process of modernization is low, and who suffer from a lack of political, social and economic power and influence, compared to the dominant groups in the society. The term, "culturally or socially disadvantaged", therefore, is a sociological generalization which defines the relative situation, in time and place, of a group which has to find possibilities for social mobility and social status within the framework of a given general social system, at this stage of the modernization process.

Every group with a common ethnic background, class status or geographic origin shares unique cultural characteristics that have been shaped over a long period of time. These characteristics contradict or even clash with the expectations based on the cultural characteristics of the dominant group, which shapes the social institutions that serve it, especially the school, the chief instrument for socializing the future generation. When the members of a group coming from the "other" culture cannot adapt to the new expectation norms and do not receive the cultural, social and economic advantages and the opportunities that go with them, they are considered by the dominant group to be inferior, and they gradually internalize a self-image of inferiority into their own personalities and those of their children.

A cultural-social group that remains in a sociometric situation for a long period of time gradually develops certain norms, values and patterns of behavior that it transmits to its children--consciously or unconsciously. This process is expressed in the interaction patterns within the family, in child-rearing and in schooling, which supplements the shaping of abilities, skills, knowledge and motivation.

The characterization of culturally disadvantaged groups, from a psychological and pedagogic standpoint, can be found in research projects and the testimonies of educators.

The above-mentioned names are not accidental; they express social values which, at a certain stage of political development, influenced the introduction and dissemination of a certain terminology.

What is special to the term, "teunei tipuach" ("in need of fostering"), which we have added to Israel's socio-educational vocabulary, is a positive normative approach that says that members of inferior groups--from the standpoint of the educational system's expectations--can improve their state. But for this they need the appropriate assistance in fostering their intellectual and social ability.

We based the name, "teunei tipuach" on three value-oriented assumptions: First, we are dealing with a group in a state of relative deficit; second, we believe in the possibility of fostering and advancing this group; third, the educational system is assuming the responsibility and commitment for carrying out the necessary fostering.

A study of the development of Israel's educational system reveals four major stages in the society's awareness of the problems of the Disadvantaged in the past, and a fifth stage, which should shape the development of the educational system in the future on the basis of planning for the coming decade.

The term "Teunei-Tipuach" and the definition of the groups involved were raised during the third stage, known as the Compensatory Stage, or the "State Protection" Stage. In our survey, "Confrontation of the Educational System with the Needs of Disadvantaged Pupils" (see), we described the nature and activity of each stage. Here we will merely recall the names:

a. The "Pioneer-Voluntary" Stage - until establishment of the state in 1948.

b. The "Formal Equality" Stage - the first decade of statehood, 1947/8-1947/8.

c. The "Compensatory" or "State Protection" Stage - The second decade of statehood, 1957-8/1968.

d. The School Reform Stage - from 1968 onwards.

e. "School as an Experimenting Proposition" - the future development stage, commencing with our current efforts. It was outlined in the above paper, in the article by M. Smilansky and D. Sanders (see), and in decisions already taken by the Ministry of Education in matters of flexible schedules, encouragement of local initiative by the teacher and the school, encouragement of reorientation in teacher training, administrative decentralization, and macro-planning for changes adapted to future needs.

For purposes of our discussion it is important to see that what at one stage is considered a liberal or socialist vision becomes, in the next stage, a subject for criticism and an expression of the failure to come to terms with the need for change, in view of the new needs and possibilities. Hence, the question, Who are the Disadvantaged? should be raised in the context of seeing the condition of certain groups from the perspective both of

expectations of the modernization stages and patterns and of the challenge and assistance offered by a system aimed at helping individuals and groups confront the expectation of survival and advancement.

b. Definition of the groups in compensatory education programs thus far.

Every society, in every stage and pattern of the modernization process, has various general goals and definite aims of progress towards the solution of problems and achievements. Since we defined the Disadvantaged as members of groups who, in a given situation, cannot cope with certain expectations of the dominant group which have been internalized by these groups as well, the question, Who are the Disadvantaged? becomes not only a relative one but also a differential one. We must be aware of the need to conceptualize the dynamic process of a society that is aiming at differential goals and, in so doing, defines the needs of different groups on the basis of a diagnostic differentiation that is directed by clear normative criteria. Thus, our approach to planning must be directed, first of all, towards a detailed definition of the groups involved and of their need to change within the modernization process taking place in Israel. Second, we must define the approaches of the basic system which society has invested with the task of coping with problems of raising the status of such groups. The third task is to define the assumptions and hypotheses with respect to the anticipated processes of advancement and the desirable processes of involvement on the part of the educational system in furthering this matter.

The definition of Disadvantaged groups varies according to needs and goals. In general, it can be said that Israel's educational system has used four main definitions: ethnic, ethnic-social, social and regional.

(1) The ethnic definition aims at broadening the representation of members of groups originating from the Middle East and North Africa in secondary and primary education, while reducing the degree of correlation

achievements; enabling members of these groups to have access to a wider reference group, at the same time developing models for identification with their ethnic group; and minimizing the prejudices of the population of European origin regarding the capacity of these groups to develop their abilities and improve their status.

The background for including those ethnic groups in the Disadvantaged category is the existence of a disparity in their manifestation of ability and achievement, and the assumption that only deliberate, systematic preferential discrimination for all members of these ethnic groups will ensure the possibility of a greater inter-ethnic balance and social interaction. The means tried in the past were mainly administrative, e.g., a lower standard for entry into selective institutions or reserving places according to a quota system. As a supplement, positive fostering activities are, of course, necessary: in the area of self-identity, preparation for family living within the context of an accelerated process of secularization and democratization, and cognitive and affective fostering to ensure an ability to cope with the social system now and in the future.

(2) The ethnic-social definition rests on the previous assumption, as well as on the frequent correlation between ethnic background and child-rearing patterns, but it also takes into account the physical and social conditions of large families living in impoverished areas, with low incomes, etc. The patterns of the influence of this configuration have been demonstrated in studies in both Israel and the United States. There are many examples of the use of this criterion, combining ethnic origin with social conditions, in the policies of the Ministry of Education. For purposes of our discussion, we shall mention the definition of a "disadvantaged school" as an institution eligible for preferential treatment as regards extended schedules, manpower, equipment and tutorial

assistance to teachers according to an index that includes the ratio of pupils who are members of these ethnic groups and meet the social criteria.

Similarly, there is a criterion for admitting pupils to the Ministry of Education's boarding school, which reserved 70-80% of the places for members of the "Oriental" communities. Only afterwards do the guidelines grant individual preference to those coming from impoverished areas, outlying districts, large families, etc.

It should be added that about 40% of the Jewish children grow up in 11% of the large families (families with 4 or more children), and about 80% of them are members of the "Oriental communities". About 20% of them come from 4-5% of families with at least 6 children, and of these more than 90% are members of these ethnic groups. The very fact that the vast majority of Jewish families in Israel are "planned" families with a smaller burden (and they are the ones who determine the image of the expectations of the social institution called school) intensifies the problem of so many children, who are considered exceptional because of their ethnic background and social situation.

(3) The social definition assumes that children who live in a "poverty culture" (or even only in impoverished circumstances) are incapable of realizing their potential and are certainly incapable of coping with the equalitarian conditions of the educational system, which fosters values of democracy and social integration. While we all realize that school is not the central agent for improving housing, raising the standard of living and helping families take advantage of potential possibilities, nevertheless, so long as the present structure dividing responsibility among the government ministries exists, the Ministry of Education must adopt a policy that will ensure every child's chance of adapting and advancing, and this cannot be done without taking into account the special needs of children living in inferior social conditions.

Examples of the way the social criterion, without including the ethnic criterion, has been used are: graduated tuition (in kindergarten and high school), additional learning equipment, meals at school, tutoring, cultural enrichment at school or during free time, admission to certain boarding schools, etc.

(4) The regional definition assumes that in the existing social set-up, residing in certain geographical regions creates a deficit in learning opportunities and motivations, because of the cultural and social composition of the population, which creates cultural patterns and a social climate which do not conform to the expectations of the dominant norm in the society. These regions also lack a desirable standard of services (because the people running them cannot carry out their function as expected).

Under such conditions, the policy of fostering must compensate everyone living in such geographical locations, irrespective of his or her ethnic background or social situation. Just as the economic ministries--who wish to disperse the population for security, political or economic reasons--gives preference in housing, taxation and other rights, according to regional definitions, so, too, the Ministry of Education must give these areas better buildings and equipment, more manpower, special enrichment possibilities for the gifted, and possibilities for rehabilitation of the weak and the problematical.

The educational system in Israel, as in other countries, has given preferential treatment according to a geographic criterion both to outlying districts--villages and development towns--and to poorer sections of the large cities.

c. Proposed additional definitions for the future

Of late, two more approaches for focusing assistance to further the Disadvantaged have been developed, which, despite a certain overlapping with the above definitions, have a certain unique quality of their own.

(1) Recommendations of the Prime Minister's Commission on Youth in Distress (see).

The Commission saw a need for focusing on the defining of the problem and on eliminating and reducing it by recommending a guaranteed income for families (through child allowances that would guarantee an income equal to the minimum wage), improved housing, improved community services, and improvement of the public welfare services. Three indicators for characterizing distressed families were: income per person, crowded housing conditions (3 or more to a room), and education of the head of the family (not more than 7 years). Relying on these indicators, the Commission found that the number of children in two-dimensionally distressed families totalled roughtly 160,000. Of these, 25,000 suffer from "deep distress", i.e., a combination of all three indicators.

(2) Recommendations of the Ministry of Education team for drawing up short-term fostering policy.

This team was appointed by the director of the Ministry of Education for the purpose of suggesting additional methods of activity that would serve as a basis for immediate improvement, even before the long-term planning teams submit their findings and recommendations. M. Elgarbeli brought a proposal to the team (see) which it approved and which received the backing of the Pedagogical Board of the Ministry of Education.

The system is based on the following basic principles: First, we must distinguish among different degrees of a need for fostering a pupil, in accordance with the severity of this social background, assuming that this is a factor which will influence his chances for success in his studies.

Instead of the existing dichotomous classification of schools for preference in receiving fostering services, which divides schools into three categories: well-established, partially in need of support and disadvantaged (a category based on three criteria: results of the annual National Survey of Scholastic Achievement, percentage of pupils whose parents are from Middle East and North African countries, and characteristics of the teachers), it was suggested that a continuum be created for purposes of classification. Each school will receive points according to the percentage of children from a disadvantaged background and the degree of their retardation in learning. The characteristics will determine the relative situation of the student population of a school according to family background, and, on this basis, will determine the apportionment of the fostering budget to that school. The school then determines, on the basis of individual needs, which pupils will benefit from which kinds of assistance. This system allows for an apportionment of the financial resources on the basis of an objective index and gives every school the authority and responsibility for devising its pupils' fostering program. The variables selected thus far for the point system are: father's education, size of family, and ethnic origin. The indices are based on an analysis of the relative influence of these background factors on success in the National Survey of Scholastic Achievement. Analysis of this Survey in all the elementary schools led to the decision to call a child Disadvantaged, according to his background characteristics, if he belongs to a group 40 or less of

which reached the 70th percentile in the Survey. The cut-off point was decided upon because it was considered desirable to include in the Disadvantaged category the majority of children whose chances for success were lower than average.

The portion of every school in the national fostering budget will be in direct proportion to the total points accumulated; thus, both the number of disadvantaged pupils and the severity of their situation are taken into consideration. In this way, disadvantaged children who attend a school where most of the pupils are not disadvantaged can also benefit from fostering.

On the basis of this method, 165,000 children in elementary school--amounting to 44% of the student population--were defined as Disadvantaged, in keeping with the above criterion of less than 40% chance for success. About 35,000 children (9% of all pupils) are Specially Disadvantaged, meaning that their chances for success are less than 25%.

By means of these and other multi-variable indices, we can reach a systematic diagnosis of the needs of types of institutions, based on the distribution of disadvantaged pupils in them, and can focus our follow-up studies of their progress on influence of the composition of the pupils, the fostering methods chosen by the school, etc.

d. Conclusion

When making decisions for the macro-planning process, I think the task forces for every age group should examine the significance of the alternative definitions. That is, fostering programs for kindergarten or elementary school can focus on the unique needs of the defined groups of pupils according to the extent of deficit in intellectual development or level of skills in defined areas, while for secondary and higher

education, it is possible to develop differential tasks by distinguishing among raising the "threshold" in certain areas; assistance in admission to institutions, or selected subjects for more gifted children who belong to disadvantaged ethnic or social groups; assistance to those who have a chance of succeeding to help them stay on in certain institutions; and so on.

It is clear from each of these types of definition that we are speaking of a high percentage of the total student population. Hence, on the one hand, we will need more resources than in the past and, on the other, the main thrust of our planning efforts will have to focus on ensuring fundamental changes in the image of school; giving definite responsibility to every school for advancing its disadvantaged pupils; and ensuring a logistic helping system that will give credibility to the promise that every group of children differentially defined as Disadvanted will receive the same fostering which the behavioral sciences and the educational system are potentially capable of offering, provided they see the problem and gear themselves to tackle it.

Some Propositions Toward the Future

The process of macro-planning, discussed in Part I, is still in its infancy. The following remarks are intended to express the author's personal thoughts and feelings about the possible points on which the goals and methods of fostering could focus. These examples in no way obligate anyone on the planning task groups or in the educational system; their purpose is to serve as a challenge to others to present their approach, thereby contributing to a fruitful discussion of the subject.

a) Planning the development of every school and the advancement of every group of children means a dynamic system influenced by a configuration of factors.

As stated, the problem under discussion is complex, intricate, deeply-rooted and widespread in its effects. Therefore, the attempts to deal with it by simplistic approaches--unilinear and dichotomous--were a manifestation of myopia, unwillingness to delve deeply, and conscious or unconscious naivete.

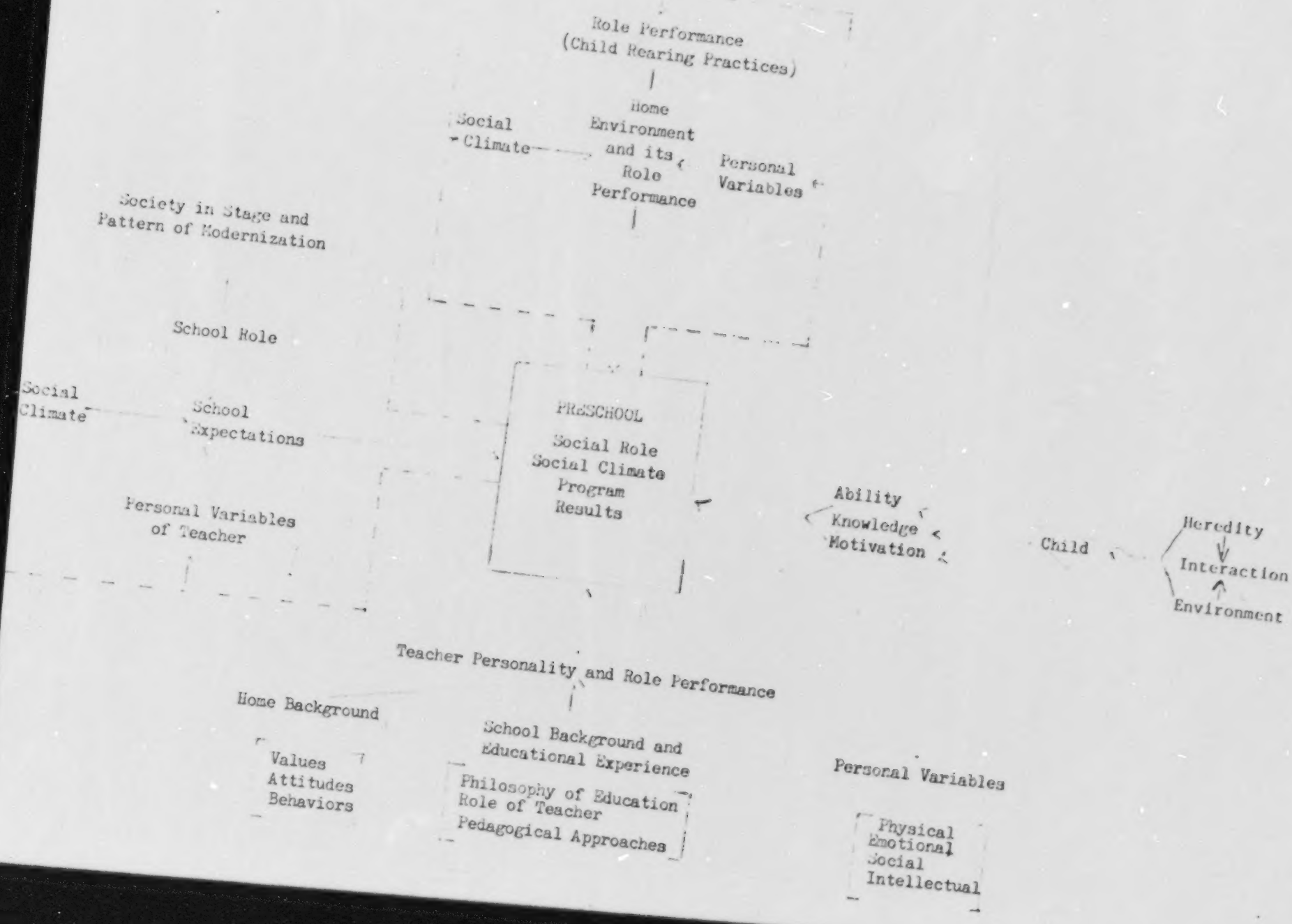
It is easy to demonstrate this generalization. If we look at the explanations, we find those in Israel who saw the problem as solely that of new immigrants, as opposed to those who saw it as a problem of the poor, as opposed to those who said it was a problem of different cultures, as opposed to those who saw it not as a problem of the child but of the school, which did not show enough interest and understanding, or of the Ministry of Education, which did not allocate enough funds (for buildings or equipment or smaller classrooms, etc.). And if we speak of solutions, we can mention those who claimed that the kindergartens should be reformed, or that pre-school facilities should be made available earlier, or that the school day should be lengthened, etc.

In various reports of research and experiments, and in our general survey (see), as in numerous parallel evaluations in the United States, we

assessed the limited usefulness of various approaches in the past. In evaluating planning, we shall, of course, see to it that further action is taken to clarify limitations and possibilities.

What is important for our discussion is this: first of all, not to regard the above remarks as an accusation directed at a specific person in any particular area, since anyone who had an active part in this process can be considered as sharing in the responsibility for our generalization, to a greater or lesser extent, as seen from his statements, actions or oversights. Second, in the future it is our duty to be aware in any planning of the significance of the configuration affecting the image of every institution and the situation of every child.

In order to demonstrate schematically our generalization about dynamic interactions, we shall present a model which we prepared for a discussion about the role and program of kindergarten in the advancement of disadvantaged children.


Role Performance
(Child Rearing Practices)
Home
Environment
and its
Role
Performance
Social
Climate
Personal
Variables
Society in Stage and
Pattern of Modernization
School Role
Social
Climate
School
Expectations
PRESCHOOL
Social Role
Social Climate
Program
Results
Personal Variables
of Teacher
Ability
Knowledge
Motivation
Child
Heredity
Interaction
Environment
Teacher Personality and Role Performance
Home Background
Values
Attitudes
Behaviors
School Background and
Educational Experience
Philosophy of Education
Role of Teacher
Pedagogical Approaches
Personal Variables
Physical
Emotional
Social
Intellectual

This simple model is designed to remind everyone concerned that in order to define the role of a sub-system known as kindergarten for 5-year-olds, one must look at the impact of the systemic configuration of the situation—of the children involved, the nature of their family, their teachers, and the expectations of the school where they will go after kindergarten and where they will have to pass a test of their preparedness to adapt to the social climate, the demands of their teachers, the attitude of their friends, etc. This model shows that each one of these factors also constitutes a focal point for a configuration of influences that must be understood and dealt with. For example, the kindergarten teacher is influenced by her personality, her training and the expectations of the Ministry of Education—in addition to the fact that she must consider the personalities of the children, the expectations of their parents and the degree of help they are prepared to give, as well as the expectations of the elementary school which "looks back in anger".

b) We must free ourselves from the controversy over the priority of a certain age in advancing the Culturally Disadvantaged.

Anyone who has taken part in the development of the theoretical and practical grappling with the subject under discussion (or has looked at the relevant literature) can find several contentions which can be divided into three circles. To the first circle belong pedagogic claims appearing in the name of preventive arguments. If we saw that the culturally disadvantaged failed when they entered a selective high school, we said that we would give priority to assistance programs in elementary school in order to help the pupils acquire basic skills, cultural enrichment, better achievements, etc. Thus, Israel developed programs to improve the teaching of reading in grades 1 and 2, special assistance programs for grades 2-5, teacher guidance programs, remedial classes for non-adaptive children, a long school day, programs for broadening horizons, for enriching the [illegible]

Parallel to this was heard the claim that elementary school was already too late, that preparedness for school should start at the pre-school level. For years programs described in our survey and others were implemented. When kindergarten did not live up to expectations, it was said that one year was not enough and that age 5 was too old. Israel, therefore, developed pre-kindergarten nursery schools for 3-5-year-olds, just as America introduced Head Start. Again we saw in recent years that when evaluations did not meet expectations, it was said that preparation must be started in the first three years of life.

Now we are saying that preparation should be started during adolescence, because adolescents are future parents, and if we want to prevent the culturally disadvantaged from falling behind, we must give precedence to preparing adolescents, through preventive action.

To the second circle belong the developmental psychology arguments, raised by Hunt, Bloom, Smilansky and others, in an attempt to point to certain pre-school ages as critical for intellectual development, alongside early Freudian generalizations about the critical nature of the early years in emotional and social development. Certain psychologists and pedagogues tried to translate the above data into the assumption that focusing fostering on a certain critical developmental stage would create the conditions for a culturally disadvantaged child to make the leap necessary to catch up with the "normal" child, thereby solving the problem. As we all know from various reports, this miracle did not take place. And just as those in the first circle kept pushing the age back to an earlier one, those in the second circle developed arguments favoring longer periods of handling one stage until the next developmental stage, as in the American concept of the Follow-Through Program.

To the third circle belong the sociological arguments claiming that if youngsters were not given assistance at certain ages and failed in school,

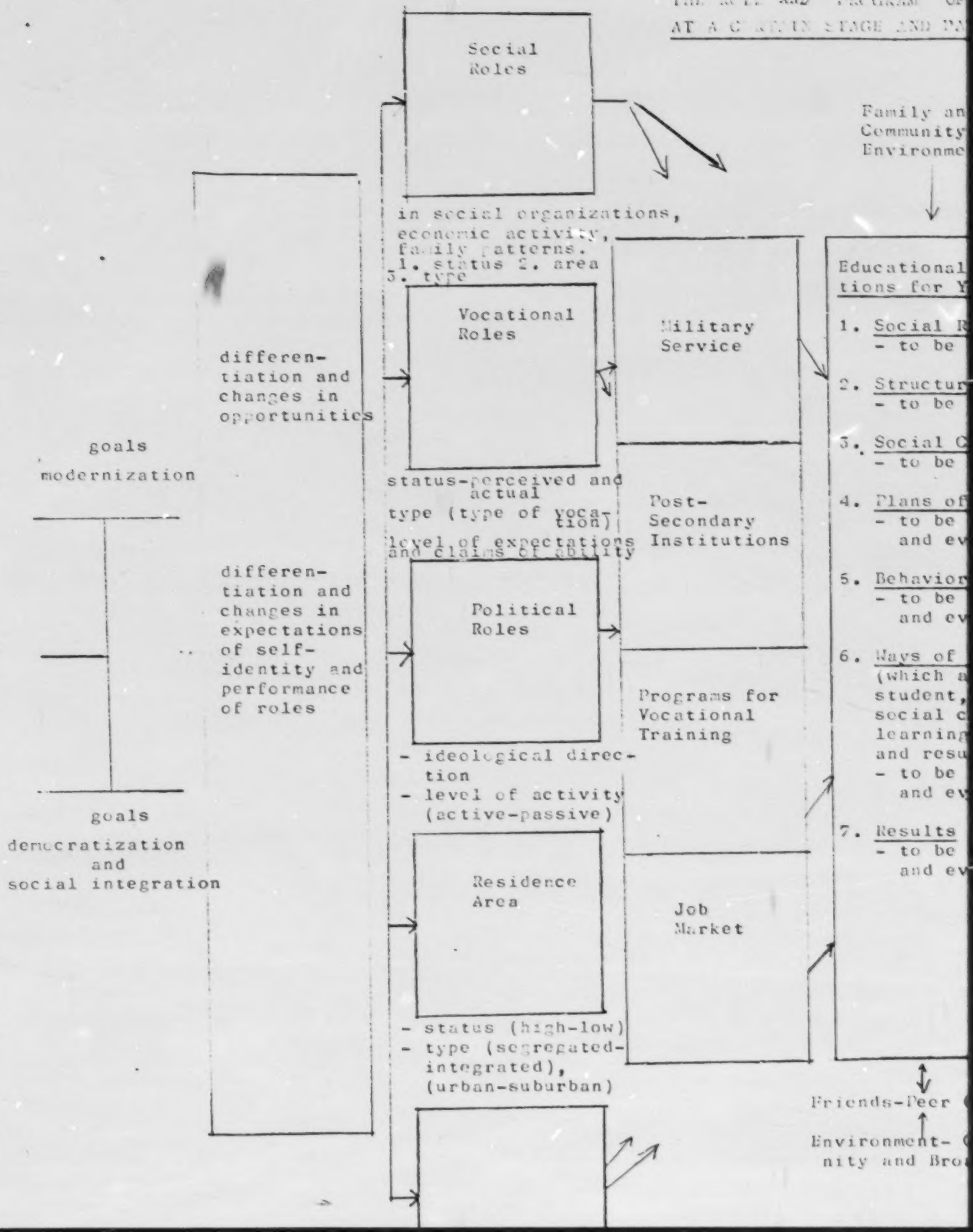
this would lead to psychological attrition, alienation, dropping out, delinquency, inability to adapt to the needs of the economy, the society, etc. Therefore, attention and activity should be focused on social rehabilitation through activities such as informal compensatory education, the creation of new social frameworks, placement at work, etc.

It seems to me that when thinking about the future, we must cease looking for panaceas and must realize that every age has its own developmental tasks and problems of coping, and, consequently, its own potentialities and needs for fostering. What and how to foster varies according to each age. Experiments have shown successes and failures for every age group, despite the differences in approach, when judged by the criteria of the experimenters for defining aims, determining means, and evaluating results. Just as in the previous section we defined the differences between the groups needing fostering, we must also define differences in the aims of the fostering. There are problems that must be dealt with in the early years, and others which should be given priority at a later age. Therefore, when organizing our planning for the coming decade, we organized parallel work teams for different age groups. The job of each team is to ask what significant things can be done to foster children of a certain age within the framework of the age group for which it is responsible. Each team will ask about the preferred needs and approaches at the outset of the discussion of priorities. Only later will we discuss the relative priorities of age groups in light of the targets set by each team.

c) We must evaluate the existing socialization model in view of its premises, the condition of the disadvantaged, their needs, and the possibilities for change.

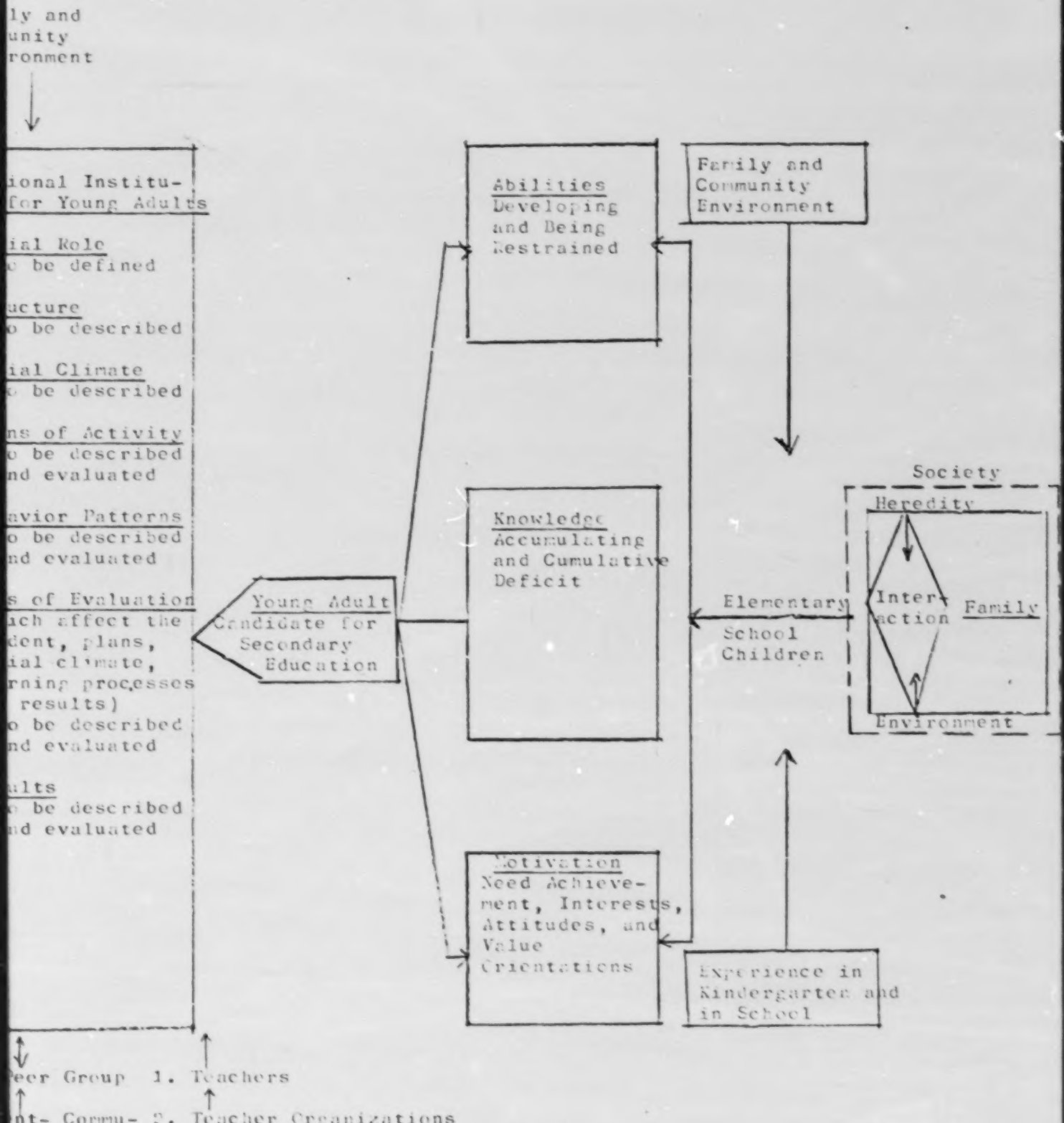
I described the situation in another paper (see). In this paper I shall summarize its contents in two ways: first, by illustrating the progress from pre-school years through adolescence, and then by noting major crossroads which constitute barriers in the developing process of sifting and sorting.

THE ... AND PROGRAM OF
AT A ... STAGE AND P...



OF A SCHOOL FOR ADOLESCENTS

ND PATTERN OF THE PROCESS OF [illegible]IZATION



Model for Adolescence

If we recall the demonstration model for pre-schoolers and use it as a supplement to the present model, to broaden the base of our perception of the present picture, we shall arrive at several assumptions:

a. The unilinear and dichotomous organization of socialization in accordance with chronological age fails to take into account the differences in the growth rates and patterns of people in general, and of a heterogeneous population in particular. This organization of the hierarchy in the educational system has a certain historic background in Western culture which gave rise to a selective, hierarchical system, at the head of which stands the university, a "sacred cow" with whose conservative patterns one must not interfere, and which dictates--in theory or in practice--the fact that whoever does not meet the criterion of correlation with its expectations must, at a certain point, be categorized as a failure, to be shunted into a peripheral field or into a lower grouping rank, until he enters the labor market in a lower social status.

It seems to me that anyone wishing to deal seriously with the subject of long-range planning for the advancement of the culturally disadvantaged must tackle the definition and organization of another system of socialization, one which is based on modular, developmental system patterns, as I shall try to demonstrate in the course of this discussion. (For illustration see appendices A and B).

b. So long as the present model is not shattered or changed, we must ask how we can ameliorate its negative effect on the chances for advancement of the culturally disadvantaged. I am referring to a change in the social climate in the direction of cooperation instead of competition, replacing grouping methods with modular courses, widening the possibilities of choice, adapting curricula and teaching materials, changing the methods of evaluation, abolishing matriculation examinations, etc.

c. As long as the present model exists, one must assure the culturally disadvantaged groups of logistic help in coping with the crossroad barriers in order to increase their chances for upward mobility. Various programs which have been tested during the decade of fostering, whetner focusing on advancement or rehabilitation—have shown chances for a certain amount of success in this direction, from kindergarten to university*. Every program can be evaluated and criticized in terms of its advantages and limitations, even if it is only an undesirable substitute in this case. Thus, the test is how to guarantee the maximum advantages in accordance with defined criteria.

In other words, the planning system must progress simultaneously in two directions: a struggle to develop awareness of the need to change the system and attempts to bring about these changes; and, parallel with this, the assurance of vital efforts to help the culturally disadvantaged cope more successfully with the existing model.

d) Comprehensive planning must examine the possibilities for gradual transfer over to alternative models of socialization for different age groups.

Strategically speaking, it seems to us that there are three possibilities for realizing an accelerated chance of success. One way can be defined as the demonstration approach--the design of experimental models whose success will demonstrate potentialities for advancement which in the past seemed unrealistic. From my past experience, I can mention the "enrichment centers" (see) and the boarding schools for "gifted" children of the culturally disadvantaged population (see).

In these cases the first step was to expand a demonstration, and when positive signs promised success, the models were adopted by the national

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*for illustrations see: Smilansky M. and Nevo D., Education of the Disadvantaged in Israel: A longitudinal study of "gifted" disadvantaged adolescents. Mediax, Conn., 1974.

educational system and were allowed to expand systematically and to a significant degree. Present programs include proposals for experimenting schools, for the training of counselors in developing self-identity and preparation for family living, and a proposal for a community Helping System.

Of course, everyone here can point to additional examples, and every example should be evaluated not only in terms of its importance to certain children, but also in terms of the possibilities of applying it more widely.

A second method I call the penetration of a relatively empty vacuum approach. The most conspicuous example is the Head Start program, which swept America, because it was aimed at an age group which was not organized within the American system. There was, therefore, no immediate opposition on the part of establishment or professional parties with vested interests, as there was to attempts to change the elementary and high schools and the universities. For example, in Israel there are nursery schools from age 3, and the vacuum there is from birth to age 3. So a special work team of the planning committee will examine the needs and the experiments may be aimed to meet them, in order to design suitable comprehensive programs. When we say "vacuum", we don't mean that no activities exist, but that there is no dominant institution, and a considerable segment of the population under discussion does not receive the necessary care. According to this criterion, other vacuums exist with respect to informal education for adolescents, beyond that of the school curriculum, care of young adults outside of school, work with parents and possibilities for continuing adult education. Again, work teams of the Planning Committee for the Advancement of the Culturally Disadvantaged will examine the needs and potentialities in each of these areas.

A third way is to exploit a social crisis. The great social and educational reforms developed against a background of the negative impact of

serious crises, e.g., war, internal strife, economic crisis, etc. When we plan for the coming decade, not only must we not neglect a crisis like the Yom Kippur War in Israel; we must use its effects as a basis for trying to design a way of organizing that will open up new possibilities. In appendix B we give an example of a memorandum which we prepared to demonstrate the need for devising a different socialization process for 16-21-year-olds. Various assumptions given in the outline of this appendix offered were part of the values for which we wished to develop an awareness even without a crisis, e.g., the need to end the inertia of continued attendance in a one-dimensional school after the age of compulsory education, the need to legitimize work and occupational training alongside theoretical studies, the desire to integrate studies with national military or civilian service, the need for new social structures for social interaction and the fostering of self-identity, etc. A crisis situation creates a fitting political, economic and emotional base for challenging conventions and seeking alternative paths.

e) <u>We must see that the possibilities for planning and developing fostering programs are, in theory, almost unlimited</u>.

Therefore, our assumption that school should be an "experimenting proposition" should find expression in both macro-planning and micro-planning.

We must develop awareness of the numerous possibilities for developing schools, at every age, into helping systems with multiple goals, frameworks, programs and methods—a constellation rich in its offerings and enriching in its rewards, conforming to the variety of the needs and potentialities of both pupils and teachers. We shall give simplistic examples of the existing alternatives in the following model:

Dimensions and variables of possible configurations in every fostering program:

Goals of fostering: one or more of the goals outlined in the taxonomy of educational cognitive, affective and sensori-motor goals

Age of fostering: every age group, from the first year of life through adolescence. For example, kindergarten for 5-year-olds, nursery school for 3-4-year-olds, etc.

Focus of the approach: preventive, fostering-promotive, or rehabilitative

Framework: individualization, small group, class room, large group

Areas of fostering: reading, scientific concepts, sociodramatic play, painting, clay modeling, etc.

Composition of groups: from homogeneity through different proportions of heterogeneity to complete heterogeneity, according to criteria of background, skill and achievement.

Agents of cultivation: teacher, teacher and tutor, teacher and aide, teacher and parent, parent and aide, etc.

From this multi-dimensional and multi-variable model--which we have not yet found a way to illustrate because of its complexity--we can see that every sub-system or institution, depending on the composition of its pupils and educational staff can devise (on the basis of experience gained in past experiments with fostering) a differential operational program which will contain an optimum of chances for shaping variety and advancement.

For example, from experiments in Israel alone, with one kindergarten age-cohort, we found that when the defined goal was promotion of cognitive skills we could achieve this by fostering the areas of increased word and concepts vocabulary (A), reading (B), sociodramatic play (C), painting (D), clay modeling (E), development of scientific concepts (F), learning arithmetic (G), movement (H), etc.

Every area has its own methods, so that we can speak of 1a or 2a or 3a, etc. Most of the methods can be used within an individualistic teaching framework, or a small group, or a classroom or a general framework. Most of the groups can be operated in varying proportions of heterogeneity from the standpoint of background, skill, knowledge, etc. And some of the methods can be used by different agents--teacher, aide, tutor, parent, etc. But even to the combination of teacher and aide, teacher and tutor, teacher and parents, should be added the fact that different combinations can be used in every weekly program, depending on the area and method of fostering, e.g., reading + scientific concepts + arithmetic, or reading + sociodrama + painting, or scientific concepts + vocabulary + painting, etc. And for every area a different method can be chosen, as demonstrated above. Thus, we have a potentially unlimited choice of mathematical formulae with respect to possible composition. We could demonstrate the same thing for early adolescence, where as part of a financially limited project called NETA (Secondary-School Fostering Project), we tried for four years to develop models for alternative methods of cognitive fostering. In this project we included, in addition to the routine subjects, attempts to develop a fostering program through comprehension exercises, thought exercises, integration of science and crafts, fostering by use of newspapers, films, simulation games, etc.

In contrast to the enormous potential, the conservative and monotonous inertia of the educational institutions is particularly pronounced. It is rooted, on the one hand, in the limited creativity and manpower available and, on the other, in the absence of a suitable logistic helping system for the development schemes.

f) <u>In view of our awareness of the variety of needs and fostering possibilities, we must develop a willingness to adopt an approach that will give</u>

every school the responsibility for autonomic coping, with the promise of success in advancing its pupils in the form of a "fostering basket" and a "logistic helping system".

For this assumption we raise three intertwined proposals: First, the historic selective system has seen its role and carried out its tasks from a perspective that regards schools, teachers, curricula and evaluation methods as givens, i.e., pupils must undergo a differentiation and selection process according to how well they measure up to the normative expectations of each of these statis components. We speak, instead, of school as a dynamic, experimenting proposition in which the pupil is the central figure whom it is our duty to help in his progress towards self-development and ability to engage his environment. Schools are responsible for fostering their pupils--from the standpoint of skills, knowledge and motivation--as they advance from one stage of development towards defined goals. Second, in order to meet the test of responsibility, the school needs to feel a fundamental security in the knowledge that it has a sufficient potential reserve of the means of fostering. It must also feel that it has autonomy in displaying initiative and creativity in order to bring out the potential of its staff, its pupils and the people who can and should help it achieve its responsibility. We refer to the combination of programs and methods developed experimentally by each school--with the help of its own manpower and the assistance of outsiders--as a "fostering basket". The extent of financial help from the general system for the "fostering basket" of every school will be determined on the basis of criteria which take into account such factors as the school's location, size, student population (social background and ability), ability to use various materials, etc.* Third, it is impossible to expect a single school, especially in problem or isolated areas, to meet the test of responsibility towards its pupils and to use the "fostering basket" to its fullest potential if it is not guaranteed a "logistic helping system".

*For an example of a proposal along these lines see M. Elgarbeli, "Dimensions in Characterizing the Social Composition of a School and Methods for Allocating Fostering budgets to Schools," Ministry of Education and Culture, Department of Planning, Jan. 1973

The helping system should be part of the decentralized administrative system. It should be constructed by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the universities, government and municipal bodies, public services, etc. Its function is to guarantee the necessary assistance for continuously training the teaching staff, dynamically evaluating the factors within the school, adapting curricula and teaching methods to the possible combinations demonstrated above, experimenting with alternative approaches to fostering, helping teachers and pupils in need of social and psychological services, helping families improve their capacity to perform their roles, etc.

This approach has many advantages, the most important of which--according to our value system--are the gradual development of every school's responsibility and ability to view itself as a socio-educational system instead of as an ineffectual cog in a bureaucratic machine which is accountable to some center of operations; greater involvement of teachers, pupils and parents, instead of the current alienation. integration of services from outside the school. gradual development of the unique, personal character of every institution, instead of the standard, colorless mediocrity common to most schools today; and the joint feeling of pupils and teachers that they share responsibility for realizing to the full the opportunities available as a result of the investment made in developing the school and in shaping the quality of life within it so that it will conform to our expectations of an institution in which our children will spend the finest years of their lives.

6) <u>Those of us involved in macro-planning (national or regional) and micro-planning must be aware of the need to distinguish among three concepts: "threshold", "ceiling" and "gap"</u>.

We use the concept of "threshold" in two ways. First, potential ability and experience in previous educational systems (at home and in [illegible] position of an individual or group in any given

system. Diagnosis of this condition gives us a diagnosis of the "threshold" from which we must try to foster the individual or group towards goals in their advancement. In certain competitive, selective systems, this diagnosis is regarded as defining the limits of ability, and it is the basis for attaching labels such as the I.Q., or for predicting the future, thereby closing the doors to certain lines of advancement--either through homogeneous classes (streaming) within a common framework or through admission to a separate gymnasium for those beyond a given cross-section. In this situation I would say that the goal of the fostering program is to break down conventional predictive ability and to move the child (or the group) to a higher threshold of activity. One might say that for all pupils--and especially the culturally disadvantaged--it is possible, through appropriate approaches, systematically to raise the threshold. The questions with respect to certain cases (of individuals or groups) are to what extent can the threshold be raised, in which areas, how permanent is the change, and what are the effects of the change.

Second, in different areas where abilities, skills, achievements and motivations are demonstrated, there is a "threshold" which it is essential to reach, in order to prevent accumulated deficits or to open the way for further advancement. For example, malnutrition affects the capacity for intellectual development, but the "threshold" for a negative effect is very low, and the effects can be prevented by a relatively minor investment, easily within the reach of every system in Israel or the United States (one balanced meal a day is enough to prevent malnutrition). Housing conditions and social climate in many homes of the culturally disadvantaged make it impossible for the pupils to do their homework. This "threshold" can also be overcome by a suitable arrangement for doing homework at school. Mastery of reading skills at an early stage is a "threshold" which, if not passed, leaves the pupil unable to develop himself or to cope with his studies. I.Q. is also a "threshold", and follow-up studies show how beyond

a certain threshold (which in certain areas can be defined) other variables such as personality (initiative, flexibility, concentration, perseverance, ability to interact, etc.) influence achievement even within the narrow confines of school, and even more in the broader, heterogeneous society. Thus, a massive investment of significant proportions in this area until the "threshold" has been passed should be given top priority, in keeping with every criterion of effective investment.

While we have no doubt, as to the possibility of success for various fostering programs in raising the "threshold" of most pupils, the situation is different for breaking through the "ceiling". By this concept we are referring to the fact that in the current stage of experimentation--from kindergarten to adolescence--we find a failure to advance significantly beyond a certain point. For example, when a fostering program in a kindergarten does not demonstrate any difference in raising I.Q.'s after functioning for two years instead of one, from age 4 instead of 5, in a group of 20 instead of 35, etc., we say that we did not find a way to break through the "ceiling". We cannot say whether the standstill at the second point is due to genetic limitations, to the effect of initial deficit or to the limitations of the fostering methods which we used. The fact is that at this stage with most children, fostering programs come up against a ceiling that we are unable to break through.

To a certain extent we can generalize and say that the <u>range of fostering</u> is from diagnosis, or beyond a certain "threshold", to a certain ceiling, involving an ongoing process of raising the "threshold", using criteria relating to the acquisition of values, skills, knowledge, at the same time making clear differentiations of the tempo and pattern of development.

In more detailed discussions it is possible to see how entry characteristics affect progress, differential progress in different areas, etc. For our purposes it is important to emphasize that when defining the goals of fostering--for both individual and group--we must set priorities for our criteria with respect to both raising the "threshold" and breaking through

the "ceiling".

What is true for students can, it seems, be applied to a certain extent and in a certain manner to teachers as well. If we make a diagnosis of teachers--their ability, formal education, knowledge and teaching methods--we arrive at the generalization that teachers at a certain "threshold" can learn and teach only in certain ways. In other words, the "threshold" they have reached in the development of their personalities and their education determines the "ceiling" with respect to their ability to function within certain approaches.

From the point of view of planning, this means that priority should be given to a massive investment in raising the "threshold" of the teacher, or in adapting the composition of the group and the teaching methods to her degree of preparedness.

What is true of the human variable can, it seems, be applied to a certain extent and in a certain manner to the physical material variable. There are certain minimum needs pertaining to plant facilities, classroom size, equipment, etc. Without a certain "threshold" the ordinary pupil and the ordinary teacher will probably not realize their learning potential. But beyond that "threshold", progress depends on a network of other factors, so that attempts to make improvements point to a "ceiling" with respect to the effect of physical, material variables. This is the main reason that different research projects--in Israel, the United States and Europe--show a lack of impact (or only a minor impact) arising from such variables as the school building, equipment, classroom size, length of school day, etc. In every discussion of priorities we must, when considering cost, take into account the nature of the physical-material "threshold".

Of course, both the "threshold" and the "ceiling" will be different for

generalizations in order to apply restrictive labels. Every longitudinal study shows children who have made better progress under certain conditions and who continued to progress beyond the projected statistical averages, in contrast to others whose performance was just the opposite. One of the approaches for improving the chances of fostering the individual is that of helping the teachers undertake a systematic diagnosis with respect to their pupils' progress and to direct their efforts accordingly—instead of being slaves to norms which have been set up for other purposes.

The concept of "gap" is another problem entirely. Here we are speaking of relations within a heterogeneous group, which are influenced not only by the absolute advancement of the culturally disadvantaged but by the progress of the dominant group, which serves as the reference group; by the changes in the expectations of the society and the economy at a certain stage and pattern of modernization; and by the changes in expectations on the part of the culturally disadvantaged with respect to their status, relative to the dominant group.

The data we have about the advancement of members of culturally disadvantaged groups in various countries show that while it is possible, in different areas—economic, social and intellectual—to point to progress in elevating the "threshold", in most areas the disparities are not small, and in certain cases there is even a widening of the gaps. This is generally true of culturally disadvantaged groups within a "developed" society, just as it is true of the competition between "developed" and "developing" societies.

We must broaden and delve deeper into this subject in order to increase our knowledge about the possible developmental processes. But for purposes of the present discussion it is important to state that for certain goals the aim of fostering and promotion programs is to close the gaps, and the criterion for evaluating our achievements must be in this area. For the

and in a society that cultivates an integrative economy and society--as opposed to regional, sectoral and class economies and societies--the disparities mean an inability to compete under minimal conditions of equal opportunity and equal results. For example, there is a uniform criterion for admission to jobs, and social and occupational mobility is contingent upon a matriculation certificate or a B.A. degree. The continuation of a 1:6 disparity in this area means perpetuation of an ethnic gap and precludes any chance for a sense of equal opportunity.

On the other hand, for other purposes the tasks of fostering are aimed at raising a certain "threshold", which would permit activity on a certain level (for the purpose of enjoying its benefits), or entry into the next stage, where new possibilities for activity and enjoyment are opened.

The function of planning is continually to make a meaningful diagnosis, both for distinguishing the importance of "threshold", "ceiling" and closing "gaps", and for the developing processes towards meeting differential needs.

For the coming decade we must define our goals with reference to the above three concepts in order to ensure three things: first, a sense of success and motivation to achieve in areas where raising the "threshold" is important and significant; second, focusing efforts, in certain areas, in the direction of breaking through the "ceiling" (a culturally disadvantaged child can achieve considerable progress and notable success in a certain area while foregoing or reducing demands in other areas); and third, closing gaps for selected groups among the culturally disadvantaged (e.g., the top third, as we tried to do in several ways) and in areas where closing the gaps is vital for achieving a social balance (e.g., representation in certain professions, political representation, representation in the army and in management, etc.).

h) We must demonstrate the significance of our assumptions about the possibility of formulating a system different from the existing one and adapted to the needs of culturally disadvantaged pupils by developing micro-models which have met the test of reality.

In discussions in the Ministry of Education, student seminars and courses for principals and teachers, and in field visits, we get the same reaction--general ideas are not enough. Attractive proposals for reform have already been offered in the past but do not pass the credibility test when exposed to the pressures of reality.

The best answer I can offer is this: first of all, we must believe that it is possible to develop a school that will meet the needs of individuals and the society, and must fight for the things we believe in. Second, there is no type of school that is appropriate for all children and every community, so several models should be developed simultaneously. One cannot escape the problem merely by criticizing the existing schools, or by raising tempting suggestions to abolish schools (known as deschooling), because the culturally disadvantaged would be the first to be harmed by this; the parents of the dominant groups would find their own way of furthering their children. Moreover, I do not believe in the unsuccessful attempts to create alternative private schools, most of which last a few years and then disintegrate, owing to an inability to withstand social and economic pressures. It is vital to create the alternatives within the public education system, as part of the struggle for every citizen's right to services adapted to his needs. Third, we do not know which school suits the needs of a given group, since we are speaking of a heterogenous popu-

lation, an accelerated rate of modernization, existing and developing pressures, and new options for the future. The answer is in the concept we formulated with Don Sanders and Deborah Coleman in a memorandum entitled "School as an Experimenting Proposition" (see). The significance of this concept lies in the fact that only through systematic and dynamically evaluated efforts to constantly improve schools through joint responsibility of the staff and pupils can one gradually attain a more and more suitable model. As outlined in that paper, the 14 principles which seem to us to be central to a model which we believe would meet the needs of adolescents are: a view of the Stages and Patterns of Modernization as a frame of reference and a view of school as a fostering social system; fostering an affectively-based cognitive orientation; focusing fostering on the encouragement of self-development and coping capability. We speak of a responsible, not a permissive, school--accountable to the adolescent and society. The adolescent can be a responsible person if we acknowledge and foster this responsibility. Other principles are: cooperation, not competition, as a cultural pattern; a helping system to ensure progress and success; cooperation with parents; continual interaction between school and community, with comprehensive study encompassing all relevant institutions for acquiring experience; work and service experience as part of the curriculum; study and teaching as a way of learning; fostering of self-identity; preparation for family living, and understanding of urbanization and urban problems as a focus for the study and cultivation program; and dynamic diagnosis as a basis for awareness and meaningful development. Someone else can and should develop another model based on his values and test its significance.

Fourth, in order to increase the choice of models and to accelerate opportunities to see their impact, an international cooperative effort is needed on the part of those interested in developing the experimenting approach and designing models adapted to a certain age group. An example of such an effort is the attempt to establish an international corporation of experimenting schools for adolescents. Its first workshop, to be held in July 1974, will be attended by delegates from 7 educational systems in the United States and a similar number of systems in Canada, Europe and Israel (see). Since the above-mentioned memorandum is available, and in addition we will be publishing a detailed monograph on the subject, I shall not elaborate here.

i) Unless manpower appropriate for our expectations at a certain developmental stage is guaranteed, there is no point in our directing our efforts towards planning and developing reforms in buildings, composition of pupils, curricula, learning materials, etc.

Experience in Israel (as in Europe, America and other places) consistently shows the limitations of manpower in realizing the expectations of political and administrative planning.

Therefore, every team discussing the planning of advancement for an age group or a certain area of activity must ask about the available manpower; plan a resocialization process for this manpower; design a process of socialization of new types of manpower; and ensure a guidance and counseling system for teachers as part of what we have called a "logistic helping system".

We regard the guarantee of suitable manpower as one of the most important and fundamental advantages of comprehensive planning. For example, if a work team planning the fostering of 0-3-year-olds decides that it should move in the direction of three alternatives—guiding parents at home, counseling and demonstration at a regional center, and direct fostering for education in an infant fostering or day-care center—it will have to define what manpower is needed for these duties, see to it that training programs are developed, ensure that experimental programs in this area are developed in the appropriate training institutions, offer guidance to new workers, and maintain a dynamic evaluation process. By the same token, if, for example, the team working on education in adolescence approves our suggestion that secondary schools should focus on programs for fostering self-identity, preparation for Family Building, and understanding of urbanization problems, it will have to suggest training programs that will guarantee the proper execution of this task. A final example: if we want to ensure that the level of execution in immigrant settlements and poverty rural areas is as high as that in the cities, we will have to offer special stipends to residents of those settlements in order to give them thorough training for their duties, as well as to train people to guide them in their work.

In general it can be said that the training of manpower for a high level of implementation takes priority over the activation of new programs, since a considerable part of our investment thus far (to a greater or lesser degree) has been wasted because of the disparity between what was invested in buildings, installations or programs and the ability to utilize them.

j) Unless there is systematic development of a wide and significant variety of offerings with respect to curricula, learning materials and evaluation methods, the demand for school responsibility in fostering all its pupils becomes meaningless.

Experience so far has shown that most of the reforms were directed at structural changes--new frameworks, lengthening the time spent by a culturally disadvantaged child in schoool (lowering the entrance age, lengthening the school day, creating new learning frameworks, lengthening the school year, increasing the number of years for compulsory education, opening possibilities for continuing studies for a few extra years beyond the compulsory education age, etc.), increasing the number of teachers, etc.--while the investment made in the area we are discussing has been minimal and, in Israel, does not even account for 1% of the total education budget. Thus, it is no accident that in every field evaluation--whether systematic or random--we find inefficient use of the investment made in this area. It is impossible to decide to implement a social integration program if no appropriate study programs and materials have been adapted to the needs of a heterogeneous population within an integrative framework; we cannot declare that we will foster self-identity or preparation for family building if there are no programs and materials to make such a declaration credible; and we cannot say that a culturally disadvantaged child is capable of learning a foreign language or literature or any other subject, if we have not made the necessary investment to assure

the child and his teacher of good work materials to carry out their goal. Just as there is no point in investing in buildings and workers for industrial production when equipment, raw materials, market research and a system of distribution are absent, or in recruiting soldiers into the army if there are no guns and ammunition for them, so, too, there is no need for buildings and teachers if they do not have the means for making efficient use of the framework.

We can demonstrate these generalizations through evaluations in various areas, but we doubt that the readers of this paper have need of such examples.

In conclusion, since we do not have sufficient financial and human resources to tackle all the areas and directions—because of both public unreadiness and objective conditions—we must decide on priorities according to certain criteria, as stated in the opening chapter on the role and process of planning.

We have begun developing criteria for each area and criteria for general judging of priorities. In addition, when I summarize the opening remarks and the demonstrations I shall raise five points for thought and discussion:

a. We too readily accept what exists as inevitable, and we therefore lack a sense of security and autonomy in seeking significant alternatives.

b. We teach too much, and the pupils learn too little. Perhaps if we were secure enough to teach less, we could guarantee a higher degree of meaningfulness in the process and results of learning.

c. We invest too much in buildings, numbers of hours, equipment, etc., and too little in the identification and fostering of people suitable for different roles who could ensure the efficient utilization of the material

Factors in formulating the role and program of a kindergarten adapted to the advancement of the culturally disadvantaged

1. Role Performance

   (child-rearing patterns)

   Personality variables — Home environment and its influence — Social climate

2. Heredity

   Interaction — Child — Ability

   Environment — Knowledge

   Motivation

3. Kindergarten

   Social function

   Social climate

   Programs

   Results

4. Society at a stage and pattern of modernization

   Role of school

   Expectations of school — Social climate

   Personality variables of teachers

5. Teacher's personality and way of performing his role

Personal variables	School background and educational experience	Home background

6.

Physical	Educational philosophy	Values
Emotional	Teacher's role	Approaches
Social	Pedagogic approach	Behavior
Intellectual		

d. We are not systematic enough in making our investments. Many projects did not use investments to the maximum. In order to make meaningful use of investments in a certain area, we need numerous replications, alternative play with different variables, systematic and directed improvement of whatever looks promising, help in overcoming barriers, etc. This should be the unique significance of comprehensive, dynamic and systematic planning, as opposed to the importance of isolated projects of researchers and talented, creative innovators.

e. We do not invest enough in the systematic, comprehensive evaluation of our activity, according to criteria which express our values, our goals and the needs of those involved from the standpoint of investment, process and finished product. We should not separate planning from development and evaluation, as it is the combined effort which will give meaning to each of these elements.

Figure 9: Mean I.Q. as a function of Parent's education, Age and Origin Group

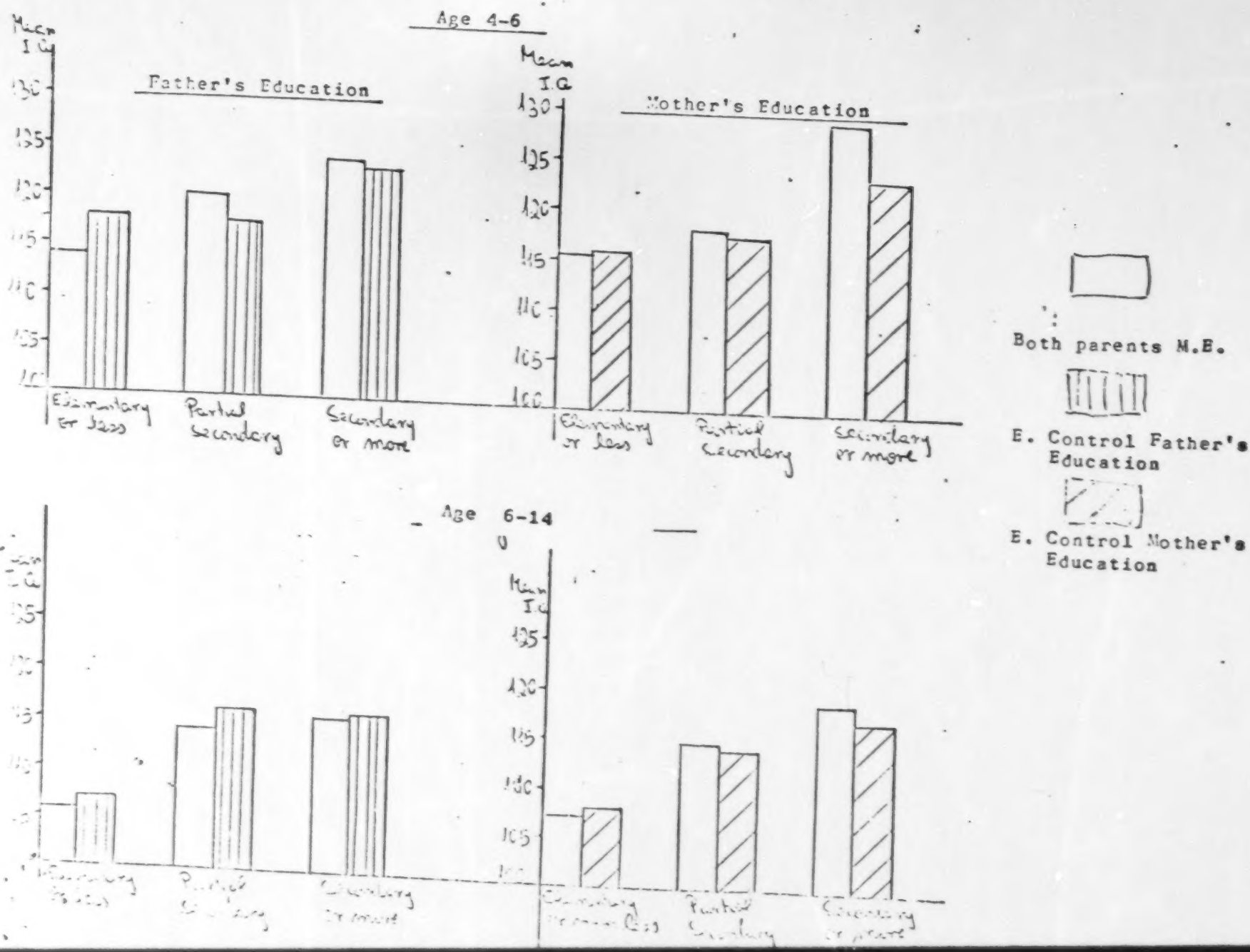
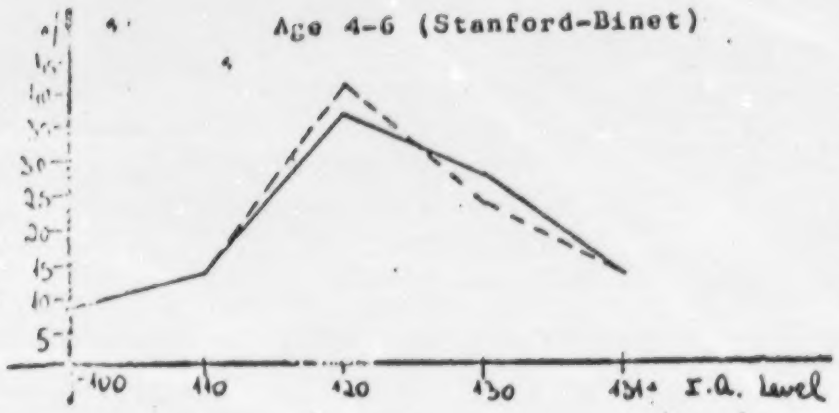
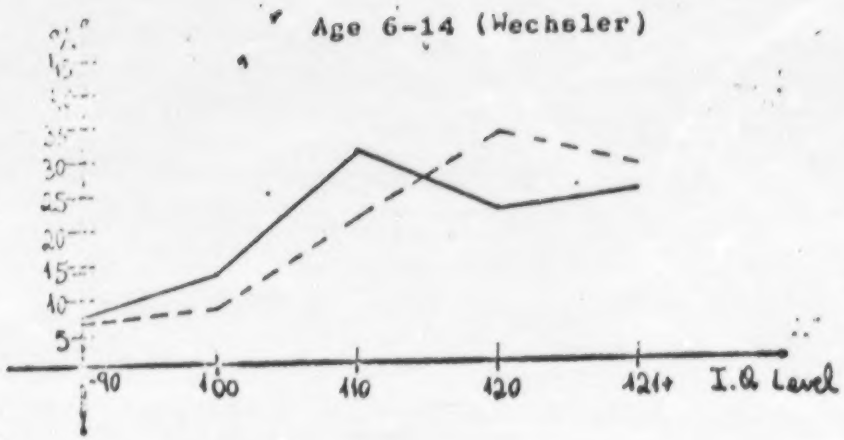


Figure 8: Distribution of I.Q. as a function of Age & Origin Group





——————— Both parents M.E.

– – – – – – – E. control

Table 9: Mean Scores on Wechsler Subtests by group

Subtests	Groups Parents M.E.	E. Control
Information	12.7	13.2
Comprehension	10.3	10.3
Arithmetic	9.7	10.0
Similarities	11.3	11.5
Vocabulary	13.5	13.8
Memory	10.0	10.2
Picture completion	11.0	11.1
Picture Arrangement	13.2	12.8
Block design	10.6	11.3
Object Assembly	13.9	13.5
Coding o mares	9.6	10.2
Verbal I.Q.	109.7	111.2
Performance I.Q.	110.8	112.3